

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 194456
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY NEA/IAI:DAKORN/MPH
APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY
NEA:HHSAUNDERS
S/S-O:RCASTRODALE

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O 020020Z AUG 78 ZFF6
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE
WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE 0500

S E C R E T STATE 194456

EXDIS (DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: IS, EG, US

SUBJECT: GUIDANCE FOR ATHERTON'S NEXT ROUND OF TALKS IN
ISRAEL

1. RATHER THAN TRYING TO GIVE YOU DETAILED GUIDANCE FOR
YOUR TALKS WITH BEGIN AND DAYAN BETWEEN NOW AND THE
SECRETARY'S ARRIVAL, WE WILL COVER THOSE FEW POINTS WE
THINK IT MOST IMPORTANT FOR YOU TO MAKE.

2. THE FIRST AND MOST CRITICAL POINT TO GET ACROSS TO
THE ISRAELIS IS THAT SADAT HAS NOT ABANDONED HIS INITIATIVE
OR CLOSED THE DOOR ON NEGOTIATIONS. HE STILL WANTS A
PEACE AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL AND IS STILL READY TO AGREE
TO FULL RANGE OF NORMAL PEACEFUL RELATIONS AND SECURITY

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ARRANGEMENTS.

3. AS TO OUR ASSESSMENT OF WHY SADAT ACTED AS HE DID, YOU
SHOULD SAY WE THINK THREE FACTORS WEIGHED HEAVILY IN HIS
THINKING:

--RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY, HE DOES NOT BELIEVE ISRAEL HAS FULLY

RESPONDED TO HIS INITIATIVE. HE FEELS THAT ISRAEL HAS DISCOUNTED THE IMPORTANCE OF HIS OFFER OF PEACE AND SECURITY.

--AS IN HIS TRIP TO JERUSALEM, HE USED A SUDDEN MOVE TO TRY TO PERSUADE THE WORLD THAT NEGOTIATIONS COULD NOT SUCCEED UNTIL CERTAIN BASIC PRINCIPLES WERE UNDERSTOOD. FOR HIM, THE PRINCIPLE OF THE INADMISSIBILITY OF THE ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY BY FORCE, AS STATED IN UN RESOLUTION 242, IS THE ESSENTIAL STARTING POINT.

--HE FACES MOUNTING OPINION IN THE ARAB WORLD THAT HIS INITIATIVE WAS A MISTAKE BECAUSE, IN THE ARAB VIEW, IT DID NOT PRODUCE A CHANGE IN THE ISRAELI POSITION THAT ISRAEL IS NOT PREPARED TO WITHDRAW FROM THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. IN THE ABSENCE OF PROGRESS TOWARD GOALS IMPORTANT TO HIS ARAB SUPPORTERS, HE MUST INCREASINGLY PAY ATTENTION TO THEIR VIEWS.

IF YOU THINK IT CAN BE DONE TACTFULLY, IT MIGHT BE USEFUL FOR YOU TO SUPPLEMENT THE ABOVE WITH YOUR OWN PERSONAL ACCOUNT OF HOW AND WHY SADAT REACTED SO STRONGLY TO BEGIN'S HANDLING OF SADAT'S AL-ARISH/ST. CATHERINE'S IDEA AND TO DAYAN'S STATEMENT AT LEEDS THAT ISRAEL NEEDS TERRITORY IN ADDITION TO SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS. REALIZE THIS WILL BE A DELICATE SUBJECT BUT BELIEVE IT IS ABOUT TIME THE PARTIES
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BEGIN GETTING EDUCATED ON ONE ANOTHER'S PSYCHOLOGICAL SORE POINTS.

4. FINALLY WE WOULD LIKE YOU TO TRY TO GET ISRAELIS TO LOOK BEYOND IMMEDIATE TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND THINK ABOUT THE LONGER TERM CONSEQUENCES OF CONTINUED STALEMATE. YOU SHOULD STRESS THAT WE ARE AT A VERY CRITICAL POINT. THE OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE WHICH WAS CREATED BY THE EVENTS OF LAST NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER HAS NOT BEEN LOST, BUT IT MUST BE OBVIOUS THAT THERE IS REAL DANGER OF LOSING IT. HISTORY WILL JUDGE ALL OF US SEVERELY IF IT IS, AND IT IS INCUMBENT ON ALL TO REFLECT CAREFULLY ON THE STEPS WE TAKE NEXT. THE SECRETARY WILL BE COMING OUT TO CONSULT WITH THE PARTIES ON FINDING WAYS OF REOPENING NEGOTIATIONS. BUT THE CHANCE FOR PEACE CAN ONLY BE PRE-SERVED IF THE PARTIES ARE WILLING TO MAKE A SERIOUS EFFORT.

5. THE SECRETARY WILL VISIT JERUSALEM AND ALEXANDRIA AND WILL RETURN TO WASHINGTON TO REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT. HE DOES NOT WANT TO SPECULATE ON WHAT WILL HAPPEN BEYOND HIS VISIT.

6. SEE NO REASON YOU SHOULD NOT CONTINUE YOUR DISCUSSION
WITH DAYAN ON POSSIBLE APPROACHES TO SOME OF THE ELEMENTS
OF AN AGREEMENT.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INSTRUCTIONS, TERRITORIAL REVERSION, SECURITY, DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIONS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, PEACE TALKS, CAT-B
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 aug 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE194456
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: DAKORN/MPH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: OA
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P840140-2143
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197808106/aaaadlhh.tel
Line Count: 121
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: b7fd8a58-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS, EXDIS
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS, EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1559398
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: GUIDANCE FOR ATHERTON'S NEXT ROUND OF TALKS IN ISRAEL
TAGS: PDIP, MPOL, PBOR, US, IS, EG, (DAYAN, MOSHE), (BEGIN, MENAHEM), (ATHERTON, ALFRED L JR)
To: CAIRO JERUSALEM MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbcc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/b7fd8a58-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014